

Message Text

PAGE 01 NEW DE 14010 01 OF 02 031545Z

51 63

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 ACDA-19 IO-14 USIE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

OMB-01 SAJ-01 EB-11 COME-00 TRSE-00 AEC-11 AECE-00

AGR-20 INT-08 SCI-06 SCEM-02 DRC-01 NEAE-00 /205 W

----- 015002

O R 301830Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8168

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL MADRAS

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

ZNE/AMEMBASSY COLOMBO (POUCH)

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 14010

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (COLOMBO, KATHMANDU, DACCA, RANGOON,
ISLAMABAD, TEHRAN, HONG KONG AND PEKING ADDED AS INFO ADDRESSEES)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, U, IN

SUBJ: BREHNEV VISIT TO INDIA CONCLUDE ; AGREEMENT SIGNED

REF: NEW DELHI 13921 AND 13923

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 14010 01 OF 02 031545Z

SUMMARY: BREHNEV LEFT THIS AFTERNOON FOR MOSCOW. AS WE SAID
IN EARLIER CABLES THE FEATURE OF HIS VISIT SEEM TO HAVE
BEEN THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE INDIANS AND THE SOVIETS
ON THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP. BUT WE ARE
STILL NOT SURE HOW THESE CAME OUT. WE DON'T YET HAVE THE
PROTOCOL ON CONCRETE STEPS FOR IMPLEMENTING THE RENEWABLE

15 YEAR AGREEMENT THE TWO SIDES WORKED OUT ON DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR ECONOMIC AND TRADE COOPERATION. WHAT WE DO HAVE IS THE TEXT OF THAT AGREEMENT, AN AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES' PLANNING COMMISSIONS, AND A CONSULAR CONVENTION. THESE THREE AGREEMENTS AND A JOINT DECLARATION ARE THE PAPER RESULTS OF THE BREZHNEV TRIP. THEY DON'T HAVE MUCH SUBSTANCE BUT WE CONTINUE TO ASSUME THE IMPLEMENTING PROTOCOL HAS MORE. PERHAPS NOT. END SUMMARY.

1. THE JOINT DECLARATION IS IN EFFECT THE COMMUNIQUE-- PROBABLY CALLED A DECLARATION TO ADD SOME SOLEMNITY TO A RATHER BLAND DOCUMENT IT DRAGS OF FOR SIXTEEN PAGES AND STRIKES US AS AN EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE THE WIDE RANGE OF CONSULTATIONS DURING THE VISIT AND THE BROAD PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE INDO-SOVIET COOPERATION. IT CONTAINS SOME NOTEWORTHY TIGHTROPE WALKING IN THE EXPOSITION OF INDIAN AND SOVIET POSITIONS BUT LITTLE THAT IS REALLY NEW SO FAR AS WE CAN SEE IN THE ATTITUDES OF EITHER SIDE:

(A) BREZHNEV'S VISIT IS DEFINED AS "A STRIDING DEMONSTRATION OF THE STRENGTHENING TIES OF INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

(B) BREZHNEV ACCLAIMED THE GREAT PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION OF MRS. GANDHI (IN FACT, HE FLATTERED HER AND HER GOVERNMENT THROUGHOUT HIS VISIT. IT SEEMED A CENTRAL PURPOSE OF THE SOVIETS TO LEAVE NO DOUBT IN ANYONE'S MIND IN INDIA THAT THEY INTEND TO CONTINUE TO DO THEIR SERIOUS BUSINESS HERE WITH MRS. GANDHI AND THE CONGRESS).

(C) MRS. GANDHI HIGHLY APPRAISED THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND BREZHNEV PAID TRIBUTE TO THE PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY CONSISTENTLY PURSUED BY INDIA IN LANGUAGE REMINISCENT OF FORMULATIONS IN THE 1971 INDO-SOVIET TREATY. AS FOR THE TREATY ITSELF, THE DECLARATION NOTES ITS EXCEPTIONAL IMPORTANCE AS A NEW STAGE IN STRENGTHENING THE TWO COUNTRIES' TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP, CLAIMS IT EXERTS AN INCREASINGLY POSITIVE INFLUENCE IN INDO-SOVIET COOPERATION, AND EVEN ASSERTS THAT IT "HAS BECOME CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 14010 01 OF 02 031545Z

ONE OF THE MAJOR FACTORS IN STRENGTHENING PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD". (THIS HYPERBOLE IS ALMOST SURELY INCLUDED AT SOVIET INSTANCE. THEY CONSISTENTLY PLAY UP THE TREATY IN THEIR MEDIA HERE. THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT AND SHOWED NO EAGERNESS TO DRAMATIZE THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP DURING BREZHNEV'S VISIT).

(D) IN THE LEAD OF THE SECTION ON CONSULTATIONS REGARDING THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, THE TWO SIDES EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT THE COINCIDENCE OR PROXIMITY OF THEIR POSITIONS. BREZHNEV THEN STRESSED DETENTE: "THE GROWING DESIRE OF THE MAJORITY OF STATES FOR INTERNATIONAL DETENTE"; THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION OF THE SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT TALKS WHICH "WILL SERVE THE CAUSE OF DEVELOPING PEACEFUL COOPERATION AND IMPROVING THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE", GREAT SIGNIFICANCE IS ATTACHED TO THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR. MRS. GANDHI (BACKING AWAY AS SHE DID EARLIER IN THE VISIT FROM THE SUSPICIOUS

UTTERANCES ABOUT SUPERPOWER ACTIVITIES THAT SHE TOSSED OUT AT THE TIME OF THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT) "WELCOMED US-SOVIET DETENTE AS A STEP TOWARDS RELAXATION OF TENSION IN THE WORLD", APPRECIATED BREZHNEV'S CONTRIBUTION TOWARD THIS END, AND HOPED DETENTE WOULD SPREAD TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. AS A FURTHER FINESSE OF MRS. GANDHI'S PAST SUSPICIONS, BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT DETENTE "CAN AND MUST" GIVE PRACTICAL BENEFITS TO ALL COUNTRIES.

(E) BOTH SIDES CALLED FOR STRICT AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE VIETNAM AND LAOS AGREEMENTS AS WELL AS AN EARLY AND JUST SETTLEMENT IN CAMBODIA "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA". THEY WELCOMED CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAS. ON ALL THESE ISSUES, BOTH SIDES WALKED A CAREFUL LINE BETWEEN CONTENTIOUS POSITIONS AND WERE NON-POLEMICAL AND NON-COMMITTAL ON THE SUBSTANCE OF PROBLEMS IN THESE AREAS.

(F) ON THE SUBCONTINENT, BOTH SIDES CALLED FOR OUTSTANDING ISSUES TO BE SOLVED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS BY COUNTRIES CONCERNED WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE, CALLED FOR THE ADMISSION OF BANGLADESH TO THE UN SAYING THERE WERE "NO GROUNDS WHATSOEVER FOR DELAYING THE REALIZATION OF ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHT", AND CALLED ON PAKISTAN TO RECOGNIZE BANGLADESH IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

(G) WITH REGARD TO WEST ASIA, INDIA AND THE USSR MAINTAINED "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LASTING PEACE IS INCONCEIVABLE WITHOUT CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 14010 01 OF 02 031545Z

THE COMPLET LIBERATION OF ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL AND THE ENSURANCE OF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE". (BREZHNEV DID NOT MENTION THE PALESTINIANS IN HIS MAJOR ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT (REFTEL). DURABLE PEACE IN THE REGION IS POSSIBLE ONLY THROUGH THE STRICT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. BOTH SIDES DECLARED "THEIR FIRM DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE GIVING ALL-ROUND SUPPORT TO THE JUST CAUSE OF THE ARAB STATES AND PEOPLES".

(H) THREE PARAGRAPHS ON WHAT AMOUNTS TO ASIAN SECURITY DO NOT MENTION BY NAME THE SOVIET'S ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROPOSAL. APPARENTLY THE SOVIETS SETTLED FOR A PRETTY BLAND MIX HERE IN ORDER TO GET LANGUAGE THE INDIANS COULD GO ALONG WITH AND ALSO BECAUSE IT MUST HAVE BEEN CLEAR TO THEM THE INDIANS FELT STRONGLY ABOUT NOT GETTING TARRED WITH DIRECT SUPPORT OF TH SOVIET CONCEPT. THE COMMUNIQUE SAYS THE TWO SIDES "ATTACH PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO A BROAD DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION AND THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA THROUGH COMMON EFFORTS BY ALL THE STATES OF THIS LARGEST AND MOST POPULATED AREA OF THE WORLD. INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION AGREED ON THE NEED TO CREATE SUCH CONDITIONS AS WOULD PERMIT THEIR PEOPLES TO LIVE IN PEACE AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS, AND FOR THEIR MANPOWER AND MATERIAL RESOURCES, TO BE CHANNELLED TO SOLVE SOCIAL AND CONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH ARE OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE PEOPLES AND THE UPLIFT OF THEIR

ECONOMY AND CULTURE. THE TWO SIDES BELIEVE THAT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ALL STATES SHOULD BE BASED ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AS THE RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF FORCE, RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS, NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTRNAL AFFAIRS AND BROAD DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER COOPERATION ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND MUTUAL BENEFIT. THE TRANSFORMA-TION OF ASIA INTO A CONTINENT OF DURABLE PEACE, STABILITY AND POSITIVE COOPERATION WILL UNDOUBTEDLY FACILITAT FURTHER NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES AND STRENGTHN UNIVERSAL PEACE". BOTH SIDES FAVOR "THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLES TO OE MASTERS OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES, TO EXERCISE THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS AND TO IMPLEMENT PROGRESSIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMA-TIONS". THIN GRUEL FOR ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND POSSIBLY MR. BREZHNEV HAS SLIPPED AWAY FROM PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION WITH THE "BREZHNEV PLAN".

(I) ON UN AFFAIRS, BOTH SIDES CALLED FOR "PRACTICAL PREPARA-CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 NEW DE 14010 01 OF 02 031545Z

TIONS FOR CONVENING THE WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE". THEY AFFIRMED THEIR READINESS "TO PARTICPATE, TOGETHER WITH OTHER STATES CONCERNED, ON AN QUAL BASIS, IN FINDING A FAIR SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF MAKING THE INDIAN OCEAN A ZONE OF PEACE". THERE'S A LONG PARAGRAPH CALLING FOR MEASURES TO ENSURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNGA RESOLUTION RENOUNCING THE USE OR THREAT OF FORCE IN ALL ITS FORMS AND THE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. MRS. GANDHI "RECEIVED FAVORABLY" THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR EDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS. THE COMMUNIQUE ENDS WITH MODEST CONFIDENCE THE VISIT WILL STRENGTHEN INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN ASIA AND THE WORLD.

2. THE TWO ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS WERE EXTREMELY GENERALLY WORDED AND HAVE LITTLE SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT. IN ADDITION IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE 15 YEAR AGREEMENT (NOTE: SUBJECT TO AUTOMATIC FIVE YEAR EXTENSIONS AFTR 15 YEARS UNLESS RENOUNCED) HAS A PROTOCOL SETTING OUT "CONCRETE STEPS TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT". THIS DOCUMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN RELEASED AND THERE IS NO INDICATION WHEN, IF AT ALL, IT WILL BE RELEASED.

(A) THE 15 YEAR AGREEMENT HAS THE FOLLOWING MAJOR FEATURES:

CREDITS, PRODUCTION COLLABORATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE IN THE FIELDS OF STEEL, NON-FERROUS METALS, OIL, NATURAL GAS, COAL AND OTHER MINERALS, POWER ENGINEERING, PETROCHEMICALS, SHIPPING AND AGRICULTURE ARE PROMISED. THE ONLY SPECIFICS ARE AGREEMENTS TO ASSIST IN THE EXPANSION OF THE STEEL PLANTS AT BHILAI AND BOKARO TO 7 AND 10 MILLION TON CAPACITY RESPECTIVELY, CONSTRUCTION OF THE MATHURA OIL REFINERY TO AN ANNUAL CAPACITY OF 6 MILLION TONS, THE COPPER MINING AND REFINERY COMPLEX AT MALANDJHAND AND THE CALCUTTA SUBWAY PROJECT;

INCREASED (UNSPECIFIED) COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL USES, SPACE AND ELECTRONICS;

IMPROVEMENT IN "RECIPROCAL SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS AND TERMS OF CREDIT RELATIONS" (PERHAPS AN OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO DEBT RESCHEDULING);

GENERAL PROVISIONS FOR MUTUAL CONSULTATION.

(B) THE AGREEMENT FOR COOPERATION ON PLANNING IS EVEN MORE GENERAL AND MERELY PROVIDES FOR "AT LEAST" ANNUAL MEETINGS TO DISCUSS SUCH SUBJECTS AS ECONOMIC FORECASTING, METHODS OF CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 NEW DE 14010 01 OF 02 031545Z

FORMULATING, MONITORING AND EVALUATING PROJECTS AND EXCHANGES OF PUBLISHED MATERIAL.

3. JOINT DECLARATION ALSO STATES THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO INCREASE BILATERAL TRADE BY 1 1/2 TO 2 TIMES BY 1980, A RATE EQUAL TO OR SLIGHTLY ABOVE THE EXPECTED RATE OF GROWTH FOR INDIA'S TRADE WITH ALL COUNTRIES. DETAILS OF THE TRADE INCREASE ARE TO WORKED OUT IN 1974 NEW FORMS OF MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS COOPERATION IN THE MANUFACTURE AND EXCHANGE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS ARE CALLED FOR.

4. COMMENT: THE PUBLISHED MATERIAL IS SO THIN THERE IS NO POINT IN ATTEMPTING A MEANINGFUL JUDGMENT AT THIS POINT ON THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. SOVIET ASSISTANCE IN THE STEEL, OIL REFINERY AND COPPER PROJECTS HAS LONG BEEN EXPECTED AND WILL LIKELY TO BE DISCOUNTED. TYPICALLY SLOW INDIAN CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULES FOR THIS TYPE OF PROJECT ARE UNLIKELY TO LEAD TO A SPEEDY REVERSAL OF TH LARGE INDIAN TRADE "SURPLUS" AND RESULTING DRAIN IN INDIAN RESOURCES TO THE SOVIET UNION. THE PRESS CONTAINS NUMEROUS STORIES REPORTING ALLEGED SOVIET COMMITMENTS TO SUPPLY PETROLEUM, NEWSPRINT, METALS ETC. UNLESS THIS IS TRUE, THE INDIAN BEGGING BOWL WILL CONTAIN VERY LITTLE BUT PLATITUDES.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 14010 02 OF 02 031541Z

44

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ISO-00 NEAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 ACDA-19 IO-14 USIE-00 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 OMB-01 SAJ-01 EB-11 COME-00 TRSE-00

AEC-11 AECE-00 AGR-20 INT-08 SCI-06 SCEM-02 DRC-01

/205 W

----- 014974

O R 301830Z NOV 73
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8169
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MADRAS
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL BOMBAY
ZNE/AMEMBASSY COLOMBO (POUCH)
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY DDACCA
AMEMBASSY RANGOON
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY HONG KONG
USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 14010

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (COLOMBO, KATHMANDU, DACCA, RANGOON,
ISLAMABAD, TEHRAN, HONG KONG AND PEKING ADDED AS INFO ADDRESSEES)

5. WE ARE NOT EXPERTS IN CONSULAR CONVENTIONS BUT THE ONE SIGNED
BY GROMYKO AND SWARAN SINGH APPEARS A SUMMARY OF THE USUAL
(VIENNA CONVENTION) RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES, IMMUNITIES, AND LIMITA-
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 14010 02 OF 02 031541Z

TIONS ON ACTIVITIES OF CONSULATES AND CONSULAR OFFICERS.
THE CONVENTION TAKES EFFECT 30 DAYS AFTER EXCHANGE OF INSTRU-
MENTS OF RETIFICATION AND WILL BE VALID FOR FIVE YEARS WITH
AN OPTION FOR FIVE YEAR RENEWAL AND CANCELLATION ON SIX MONTHS
NOTICE IN WRITING.

6 SO FAR THERE IS NO SIGN OF ANY AGREEMENT ON ANY SPECIAL
INDIAN PORT PRIVILEGES FOR SOVIET SHIPS (SPECULATED ON IN
TODAY'S TIMES OF INDIA), OR FOR THAT MATTER OF THE FISHERIES
OR SHIPPING AGREEMENT FOREIGN SECRETARY

7 WE WILL ROUND-OUT OUR IMPRESSIONS OF THE WHOLE VISIT,
INCLUDING THE IMPACT IT MAY HAVE HAD ON DOMESTIC CONGRESS
PARTY-COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIAN RELATIONS, EARLY NEXT WEEK
BY WHICH TIME (PRESUMABLY) WE WILL HAVE THE IMPLEMENTING PROTOCOL
ON THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE VISIT. AT THIS POINT, OUR IMPRESSION
IS THAT THE MAIN POLITICAL GAIN FOR THE SOVIETS IS THAT THE
TRIP TOOK PLACE, THAT BREZHNEV HAD A LARGE ASIAN FORUM IN WHICH
TO DEFEND DETENTE AND STRESS IT WAS NOT CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS
OF THE NON-ALIGNED AND DEVELOPING STATES, AND THAT HE GOT
MRS. GANDHI BASICALLY TO GO ALONG WITH THIS POSITION. THE SOVIETS
ALSO GAIN SOME ADDITIONAL PUBLIC WEIGHT FOR THEIR CLAIM TO
BEING
CONCERNED ASIAN POWER, AND THE SATISFACTION OF HAVING
THE INDIANS--A PRESUMABLY BONAFIDE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY--AGREE

THAT SOVIET POLICIES AND POSITIONS ARE BASICALLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH INDIAN POSITIONS. WHATEVER TOOK PLACE ON MILITARY DISCUSSIONS (ARMS, ETC), NOTHING WHATEVER HAS SURFACED IN ANY PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS OR IN ANY PUBLIC STATEMENTS OR PRESS INTERVIEWS.

8. THE INDIANS, WE ASSUME, PICKED UP SOMETHING IN THE ECONOMIC ARENA BUT NOT MUCH POLITICALLY THAT WE CAN SEE OTHER THAN SOVIET REENDORSEMENT OF INDIAN POSITIONS IN THE SUBCONTINENT. THE INDIANS MAY ALSO HAVE OBTAINED SOME NEW SOVIET PRESSURE ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA TO STOP ITS PECKING AT MRS. GANDHI'S PARTY AND POLICIES. WE DOUBT THE ECHOES INTO ASIA OF MR. BREZHNEV'S TRIP WILL REACH MUCH BEYOND THE TWELVE MILE LIMIT, ALTHOUGH THE CHINESE WILL NO DOUBT BE HEARD FROM. (IF ONLY BECAUSE THE EXISTENCE OF CHINA WAS NEVER AS MUCH AS ACKNOWLEDGED DURING THE VISIT). AS FOR THE UNITED STATES, BREZHNEV MADE STRONG DEFENSE OF DETENTE, AND PRONOUNCED SOME CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 14010 02 OF 02 031541Z

OF THE NICEST SENTIMENTS REGARDING US MOTIVES, POLICIES, AND LEADERSHIP AS HAVE BEEN HEARD HEREABOUT IN SOME TIME. IN ALL, IT WOULD SEEM ALMOST A GAIN FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. THE SOVIET UNION IS MANIFESTLY THE WESTERN POWER AND THE SUPER POWER CLOSEST TO THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF INDIA AND TO ITS MOST ACTIVE POLITICAL ELEMENTS. THERE IS NOT EXACTLY AN INDO-SOVIET ALLIANCE, BUT THERE IS AN ELEMENT OF DEPENDENCE AND NEED IN THE INDIAN RELATION TO RUSSIA WHICH DOES NOT OBTAIN AND PROBABLY FOR SOME TIME NOW CANNOT OBTAIN WITH ANY OTHER WESTERN AGGLOMERATION, OURSELVES INCLUDED. GIVEN THAT REALITY, BREZHNEV HAS COME HERE ALMOST TO SAY THAT RUSSIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES MUST AFFECT INDIA'S, AND IT MUST BE IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION. ANY SUCH SPECULATION IS SUBJECT TO A FURTHER READING OR DIVINING OF THE FINE PRINT AND THE SECRET PROTOCOLS WHICH DOUBTLESS ACCOMPANIED THE PUBLIC POSTURING.

10. THIS ASSUREDLY IS NOT SOMETHING THE INDIANS WOULD HAVE PROPOSED AND THEY MAY WELL DECIDE TO DRIFT BACK TO THEIR PREVIOUS PATTERN OF ASSOCIATING THE UNITED STATES WITH MOST OF WHAT GOES WRONG IN THE WORLD. BUT THEN THEY MAY NOT. THIS, THE SOVIETS FOR THE MOMENT SEEM TO SAY, HAS BECOME THE STYLE OF PENNY ANTE GOVERNMENTS. BREZHNEV IN EFFECT SAYING THAT BIG COUNTRIES AND BIG POWERS DON'T DO THAT ANYMORE BECAUSE THEIR INTERESTS HAVE CHANGED. THIS IS, IN ANY EVENT, MY READING OF THESE SINGULAR TIMES. I AM NOT TO BE BLAMED IF MRS. GANDHI DOES NOT VDOVE TO BE AS PERSPICACIOUS AS YOUR MAN IN NEW DELHI.
MOYNIHAN

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, AGREEMENTS, VISITS, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NEWDE14010
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731166/abqcegel.tel
Line Count: 376
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: NEW DELHI 13921 AND 13923
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30-Jul-2001 by kellew0>; APPROVED <05-Dec-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BREHNEV VISIT TO INDIA CONCLUDE ; AGREEMENT SIGNED
TAGS: PFOR, UR, IN, (BREHNEV, LEONID I)
To: STATE INFO MOSCOW
MADRAS
CALCUTTA
BOMBAY
ZNE COLOMBO (POUCH)
KATHMANDU
DACCA

RANGOON
ISLAMABAD
TEHRAN
HONG KONG
PEKING

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005